796 ploughs, stars, sun and moon, snakes, lizards, etc. They then go into their houses, and wash their hands. Taking up in his clean hands a big cake, on which are placed a little rice and butter, the Badaga puts on it three wicks steeped in castor oil, and lights them. The cake is then waved round the heads of all the children of the house taken to a field, and thrown therein with the words "Sakalathi has come." The cake-thrower returns home, and prostrates himself before a lamp placed in the inner room, and repeats a long formula, composed of the various synonyms of Siva.

(262) In the month of November, a festival called Dodda Habba (big feast) is celebrated. In the afternoon, rice is cooked in whey within the hāgōttu, and eaten on mīnige leaves. Throughout the day the villagers play at various ball games.

796 782 A festival, which is purely local, is celebrated near Konakore in honour of Mahangkāli. A buffalo is led to the side of a precipice, killed by a Kurumba with a spear, and thrown over the edge thereof. There is a legend 773 that, in olden days, a pūjāri used to put a stick in a crevice of a rock, and, on removing it, get the value of a buffalo in fanams (gold coins). But, on one occasion, he put the stick in a second time, in the hopes of gaining more money. No money, however, was forthcoming and, as a punishment for his greed, he died on the spot.

881 All Badaga villages, except those of the Udayas, have • (841) a hut, called holagudi, for the exclusive use of women (349) during their monthly periods. A few months before a girl is expected to reach puberty, she is sent to the holagudi, on a Friday, four or five days before the new moon day. This is done lest, in the ordinary course of events, the first menstruation should commence on an inauspicious day. The girl remains in the holagudi one

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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881 night, and returns home on the following day clad in new cloths, leaving the old ones in the hut. When she arrives at her house, she salutes all the people who are there, and receives their blessing. On Sunday she goes to the houses of her relations, where she is given kadalai (*Cicer arietinum*) and other food. She may not enter the inner apartment of her house until she has seen the crescent moon. Badaga women observe five days menstrual pollution. If a woman discovers her condition before washing her face in the early morning, that day is included in the pollution period. Otherwise, the period must be prolonged over six days. On the third day she bathes in cold water, using the bark of *Pouzolzia* (thorē-kōlu), and on the fourth day is allowed a change of clothing after a bath. On this day she leaves the hut, and passes a portion of the night in the verandah of her house. After cooking and eating her evening meal, she bathes, and enters the outer room. Early on the following morning, the spot which she has occupied is cleaned, and she bathes in a stream. Returning home, she eats her food in the outer room, where she remains till next morning. Even children may not be touched by a menstruating woman. If, by chance, this happens, the child must be washed to remove the poilution, before it can be handled by others. This restriction is apparently not observed by any other tribe or caste.

841 [515] [824]

584 Writing concerning marriage among the Badagas, Harkness states [*] that "it is said to be common for one who is in want of labourers to promise his daughter in marriage to the son or other relative of a neighbour not in circumstances so flourishing as himself. And, these engagements being entered into, the intended bridegroom

(583)

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[*] *Op. cit.*

ness 1832: 42). It was also reported that some young men of dubious virtue were noted for the frequency with which they walked away (Francis 1908: 131-32).

Such freedom no longer finds parental connivance, and today a girl is expected to be a virgin at marriage. She may continue to be one for some time afterwards too, for it is usually the mothers of the couple who decide when to "send them to the bed-house," as the euphemism goes. No such restrictions occur for a woman who has already been married before, and in one reported instance such a bride actually took the initiative on the first night by fondling her previously impotent groom until he was able to do what was expected of him.

In earlier times, a reliable informant estimated, a mere one or two per cent of men had relations with their brides prior to marriage, and this was because girls were married at about puberty. He also estimated that perhaps ten per cent of bridegrooms had had sexual relations before marriage with girls other than their brides. Another man who was married in 1930 asserted that his 12-year old bride lacked a hymen, but did not reach menarche until two months after marriage. This and similar anecdotes do at least suggest girls used to become sexually active around the age of 12; female education has probably elevated this age somewhat (but on the other hand it is not uncommon for young virgins to lack a hymen). In earlier times it used to be fairly common for girls of the well-to-do gentry families to marry as young as at 10 or 11 years. They tended to be well-fed and well-built girls, but menarche had not yet occurred. For the sake of form nonetheless such a bride would spend the usual five days in the menstrual hut prior to her wedding.

3.9. When the couple are especially young the boy's parents may place all sorts of barriers in the way of their consummating the marriage. This is common, and generally because the parents want the girl to work but not have children yet. Needless to say, the resourceful couple can outwit the parents in this matter, for example by an afternoon meeting while the rest of the household is out working in the fields. A more leisurely ruse is for the young husband to send his wife away to visit her father, and then to follow her after a short time. Since a bride is not supposed to do any work while visiting her parents, and since her husband is always welcome in their home, the couple will have plenty of time alone together while the rest of the family is working outside the house. And many Badaga villages have dense forest nearby.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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585 826 It is believed that if a newly married girl has an itching sensation in the vagina while visiting her father's house, her husband will come to her the next night. Similarly, if a young husband is away from his wife, for example while grazing buffaloes, and he has an involuntary erection, this means that he will enjoy his wife within a day or two.

585 841 Sometimes a wedding is postponed a few days if the bride has a menstrual period immediately before the planned date. This is not because of the probable inconvenience at consummation, but simply because she cannot be allowed into the house until seven days after her period owing to a pollution taboo. And as we have suggested, a bride generally does not sleep with her husband immediately. She is made to sleep with other children in the family or other members of the household until her next period. Only then will the consummation occur, because the parents may want to make sure the girl was not pregnant prior to the wedding. Otherwise if they are quite certain she had a period a week or two before the wedding, and she is considered old enough, the parents may permit the consummation quickly. 585 Even so, it is usually impossible for the bride to be deflowered until the third night because she is busy with a ceremonial visit to her own father's house and village, or with those relatives who are still visiting her. On the fourth evening however it may be possible to put the couple in a separate room or another house—a widow's house is easily vacated for this purpose. The groom goes to this "bed-house" after supper and waits there while some women persuade the bride to go and join him. Usually she is shy, and even if she is eager to go she pretends to be shy. When the shyness is genuine it is because the marriage has been arranged, and the bride does not know how her husband will behave. Some girls, and even the occasional youth, are so ignorant about things that they do not know why they are being sent off to a separate room together. Such an awkward situation can soon lead to divorce, or to further sexual training: an informant explained how he was asked (by his wife) to have a gentle intercourse with his wife's newly married sister, since she had been terrified on the night of the consummation. In general, if a newlywed husband or wife expresses fear of this event, an old woman crushes the leaf of the cockspur flower and makes the person swallow it in milk or water beforehand: this cures the fear.

881 826 Badagas believe the hymen exists only until puberty, when it is automatically ruptured by the first menses. (A few girls do not mens-

truate, I was told, until 18 or 19, long after they have married.) Husbands thus attach little importance to presence or absence of a hymen. A bride is nonetheless supposed to be a virgin on her first marriage, and so on the morning after her defloration her parents-in-law look for a bloodstain on the bed. If she is not in fact a virgin one of the couple will usually draw a little blood from some part of the body so as to make a stain. Whether or not the groom is responsible for her previous loss of virginity he will want a bloodstain to be found, for otherwise his parents may think he has fallen in love with a loose, unworthy girl. Badagas proverbially take a dim view of young women: "A young ox and a young girl are both inconstant: do not trust them" (Metz 1864: 94).

They have a kind of second wedding ceremony, held at about the seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy. The sexual aspect of this second ceremony is that on the following night the couple are supposed to sleep together and have intercourse. While the pregnant girl is not impure at the time of the actual ceremony, both she and her husband are considered so on the following morning. It is a ritual requirement that she carry all of their bedding to some stream, but not the usual water source, and wash it clean.

3.10. Badaga men, and less commonly women, can get a disease called *kanne no:* ("first sickness"), which is caused either by a young man's first sexual experience or by too much sexual activity in his early married years. It is a relatively rare illness, recognizable from the face and the accompanying fever. A patient is served only "cooling" foods till he recovers; he rests at home, and is also given *kodangu soppu* (made from velvety patchouli, etc.) as for any fever. The parents stop the couple from sleeping together for the time being; until fully recovered the patient will be permitted little or no coitus by his elders. This illness is said to be quite dangerous, whereas "too little" intercourse is not thought to have any bad effect on the body.

Menstrual Practices

3.11. Badaga therapists do not know why menstruation occurs, and simply attribute it to God's will. The intervals can vary, I was told, from 16 to 40 days, tending to be shorter in fat women. Among young women menses occurs every 18, 19 or 20 days, with 22 days as perhaps the maximum. With older women the period comes on

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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the average after 25 days, and may even span two months. Girls are reported to begin at 14 or 15 years, but in some cases menarche comes at 12.

These are the simple physiological facts as Badagas know them, yet the social implications of menstruation are anything but simple. "Menses (*olavu*) pollutes nine houses; and likewise a person who has not yet washed after a meal pollutes seven houses." As this proverb underlines, the event pollutes a woman and could pollute her home too; so that it has been customary for every woman to spend a few days each month in a special menstrual hut. Every village used to have one (some still do), a fact that underlines the general threat women posed to the purity of the Badaga house. Thurston (1909: 102-03) and "Miles" (1933: 73) record that a girl might be sent to the hut on a Friday a few days before the new moon, a few months before her first menses, lest this come on an inauspicious day. Should this occur, no further ritual precaution can be taken.

At the onset of a girl's first menses she is immediately taken to the nearest river where, no matter what the weather, she takes a bath and then puts on a clean set of clothes given by her parents. The girl throws her old clothes away before bathing, or else picks them up afterwards with a stick and disposes of them. Nobody should touch polluted clothes, although non-Badaga scavengers may in fact take them away. Similarly the new clothes which a girl wears during her first menstrual seclusion will also be thrown away and never touched again.

Once these new clothes are on, she goes directly to the menstrual hut if her village still has one. Although it is no longer a common institution some villages maintain one today merely for its ritual use at a girl's first menstruation, and older women are not secluded in it. Where the hut does not exist the girl is sent off to a cowshed (probably a disused one, because this is supposed to be a sacred building); or failing that a vacant house, or at least a separate room of her own house. This latter might be built for her on one end of the veranda, particularly if it is raining heavily at the time.

Once in her hut or room the girl is under severe restrictions. She must not touch milk (Jagor 1876: 200). She cannot go to the public water source, nor should she pass near the temple or along the street where the Great House stands (that built by the founder of the village); nor should she attend any auspicious ceremony or public festival. She should not step over the village's water channel, or the

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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till morning but must be completed at every house, no matter how late the hour. If necessary the girl must even knock on doors and waken people. Everyone should bless her, as her own mother has already done, with a formula wishing her: "May you, my darling, soon receive a husband, bring forth a son, build your own house and live happy" (Natesa Sastri 1892: 761; Francis 1908: 131). From this time onward the girl is really a full-fledged member of the village community. There is a rule, no longer followed, that she should now bow down to any visitor from another hamlet, whether a man or woman. More importantly she is now recognized as being ready for marriage. Traditionally her forehead would be tattooed a few days later, leaving a visible sign of her marriageability (Natesa Sastri 1892: 760; Francis 1908: 131).

3.13. The menstrual hut (*holagudi*—"pollution place") was an important institution in the lives of adult women. They were customarily secluded there for a period of five to seven days (Thurston 1909: 103; "Miles" 1933: 74). If a woman discovered her condition before washing in the morning, that day would be considered the *third* of seven days of pollution. To be more exact: in calculating those days, the second day of observable menstruation is counted as the third; but if the onset is noticed before sunrise then that same day is already counted as the nominal third day. This habit of mind is expressed in the proverb: "If dying today, it will be three days by tomorrow." Thus the entire menstrual period would cover five or six days, and not seven as informants may assert. It was the custom that on the real third day of her five secluded days a woman would bathe in cold water using bark of pellitory as soap. On the fourth day she was to repeat this bath, but could then put on a change of clothing, leave the hut, and spend part of the night on her own veranda. After cooking and eating her evening meal there she would bathe again and could then enter the outer, less sacred room of the house. Early next morning the spot where she slept was cleaned, and the woman bathed in the stream. Then she would return home, eat her meals in the outer room, and remain there until next morning, the sixth actual day, when the pollution period would terminate. During the entire period no one may touch a menstruating woman. Should a child nonetheless do so he must be washed to remove the pollution before he comes into contact with anyone else.

It was customary for women to use a kind of sanitary pad in the menstrual hut, made out of shredded bark and leaves ("Miles"

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1933: 74). They now keep rags on a special shelf in the house for the same purpose: the men, knowing what the rags are intended for, never place anything else on the same shelf. Today, with the menstrual hut rarely used, women simply sit on a pile of ash in a corner of the outer room for three days. If a menstruating woman sleeps there she cleans and changes her clothes and bedding every day. At the end of the period she puts her mattress outside to air, cleans the floor at the place where it lay, and sprinkles the area with liquid cowdung. The woman may even enter the inner, sacred room during the day; whereas a generation or two beforehand that action would have resulted in her being divorced and sent home to her father. The outraged husband would then have the entire house cleaned out and would perform the rituals appropriate for the completion of a new building.

Although older women think the menstrual hut was a good institution, in that it gave women six days of complete rest each month, there is a general recognition that the present custom is altogether inconvenient, since a woman now has ready access to clean clothing, water, and some other household facilities. The fact that a woman may leave a characteristic odour in the house is seen as the main disadvantage today. Some families still observe a custom that prohibits a woman from drinking buttermilk or entering a cattleshed until the seventh day after menses. This indicates that the latter building is considered more sacred than the inner room of a house; (and indeed, in certain respects, a cattleshed could be used as a temple in earlier times).

3.14. Some other observations can be offered on the use women made of their time while in the menstrual hut. Each hamlet, and sometimes each cluster of hamlets, had only one such hut. This was the case even in hamlets that were riven by factions, for such disputes were mainly the concern of the men (as we shall see again when discussing who attends a woman's delivery). A woman may enter any convenient hut and if she were, for example, visiting her father's village she would use the menstrual hut there. A man may even send his wife away to another village for her period if there is a woman of ill repute currently staying in the hut in his own village. Married adolescent girls who had never been pregnant would usually return to their fathers' villages to use the hut. Such predilections were not the result of whim or differential cleanliness, but were reactions to the well-known fact that the hut was a key place for arranging

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amorous affairs. If a man wanted a particular girl he would note when she went to the menstrual hut, and would then persuade a female friend to stay in the hut with her and turn her fancy away from her husband and towards this unannounced suitor. A girl's parents or husband would therefore keep a careful watch on who else was in the hut. In a small hamlet, on the other hand, the female population might be so little that a woman would often find herself alone in the hut. In that case she would be afraid to sleep there by herself for fear of Kurumba sorcerers and ghosts. (This fear ran counter to the Badaga belief that Kurumbas themselves were afraid of menstruating women, and hence would never enter the hut and secretly ravish or attack any menstruating woman through sorcery.) Because of this fear, a woman who was alone in the hut would persuade another who was due to menstruate in the next few days to tell her family the period had already begun, so that the two could sleep together in the hut. This ruse would not allow the second woman to spend extra time in the hut however, and she might well continue to menstruate after leaving it, but would keep the matter secret. Sometimes a woman would be already pregnant when she entered the hut for such purely social reasons. Since the number of weeks until she came to term might be calculated from the last day a woman was in the hut, it therefore could happen that she gave birth in what seemed to be the eighth month of pregnancy.

When a group of women were together in the menstrual hut they could engage in a number of interesting activities. The only work they were permitted to do was to gather firewood for use there, prepare their own food, and wash their clothes (at a place separate from the usual spot). It was generally while in the hut that an adolescent girl underwent tattooing. The only game the women played was "eye-bean," an ancient Old World game which involved the redistribution of beans in a series of a dozen depressions. In general girls were not allowed to play this until they had their first pregnancy, but younger girls did play it too while in the menstrual hut.

Cooking vessels kept in the hut were common to the whole village, and were in constant use. There was no need to destroy or even purify them after use, since everyone involved with them was in a state of pollution. Foodstuffs could be given to the women by their relatives, but it was taboo to give them cooked foods. No pot, basket or cloth would be taken to the hut with food, since it could not be taken back home afterwards. Thus when a woman in the hut was

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about to receive food, she brought a pot outside, left it on the ground, and stepped back about five meters while the visitor poured her foodstuffs into the pot. This was in fact the usual way of giving food to untouchables in South India. As women did not expect very good food in the menstrual hut they tended to fill themselves up before leaving home: "The eye of the ox which has been ploughing is on the village; the eye of a woman just before menses is on the hearth." A more rambunctious proverb states: "The woman who has not eaten is like the one in the menstrual hut; the woman who does not fart is like summer"—summer being a rather uncomfortable period.

Adult Sexual Activity

3.15. Badaga society seems to be more tolerant of sexual escapades, whether within or beyond the bonds of marriage, than is usually recorded as the case in other Hindu communities. Thus a frustrated missionary reported: "Badaga women, who have not come much into contact with Christianity, freely express their disgust at the miserable condition of Christian women, who are bound to one husband only!" (Anonymous 1894: 547). A proverb still heard on the lips of Badaga men expresses their exasperation with womenfolk: "A passionate wife is as bad as a house that leaks" (Metz 1864: 94). Yet there is little of the double standard of morality that separates the sexes in orthodox Hindu and Muslim India. Badagas of both sexes enjoy coitus, a factor that is essential to procreation, for they believe that unless a couple are properly satisfied by the act the woman will not conceive. Ignorance of the physiological facts of paternity is evidenced from the belief expressed by older informants that, if either husband or wife is contemplating divorce and remarriage, then pregnancy cannot occur even though they still have intercourse. Nevertheless they do believe that a foetus grows out of the semen in the womb, and it is fed by blood coming from the mother's belly (10.13). In those situations where a couple are satisfied but no pregnancy ensues, it is assumed that some sin has been committed by either the couple or their ancestors.

Despite this emphasis on the pleasurable aspect of sex, much coitus is reported to occur for other reasons. When a couple have been working hard all day in the woods or fields they really feel the need for total rest throughout the night. Yet they may still have inter-

4 BIRTH PRACTICES

"Delivery is like having escaped death."

(Proverb)

Pregnancy

4.1. Generally a Badaga woman menstruates each 25 to 30 days. If this does not happen at the usual time she is taken to some knowledgeable old woman on the fortieth day after the last menses. She will know by the state of the breast if a person is pregnant: the main indicator is the nipple, which becomes darker. The breasts become shinier and slightly bigger. Other signs of pregnancy are that a woman feels lazy about working, even about walking or speaking, and she either does not want to eat or wants unusual kinds of food. She wants extra chilies, but must not have them. She always has a sensation of nausea, and especially when she eats. By such indicators it is known that the woman is pregnant. These signs continue until the sixtieth day only. By the end of the second month a woman can be quite sure that she is pregnant. 843 (841)

There is a kind of pregnancy without any preceding menstruation, considered a god-given pregnancy. This is quite common shortly after a birth. A woman does not start menstruating until five or six months after a birth, but if she has meanwhile had coitus she may become pregnant again. In one village a girl was reported to have got pregnant before ever menstruating. She was aged about 15, and was otherwise a big, mature girl. (There are no stories of virgin births among the Badagas, however.) (841)

4.2. Once a man knows his wife is pregnant he should grow his bread and moustache from then until her seventh month of pregnancy. (302)

175 already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was
614 possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas
175 were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru news-
615 paper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Brahminy thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In 1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeya] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas] ; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacerdotal string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status con-
582 562 gruence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is consi-
(554) derable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely
(561) by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are regarded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred
•(841) places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by
562 the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The
602 same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where
582 generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

241 with mixed plants are also maintained, but these gardens may be miles away from their owners' houses and on outer Nilgiri slopes. Because
423 land is divided equally among sons upon a father's death, extensive
428 land fragmentation has taken place. To prevent further fragmentation, there is now a tendency for sons to share and jointly manage land.
311 Communal pastures are close enough to permit the keeping of livestock
361 in communities. Individually owned and communal plots covered with
245 acacia, eucalyptus, and temperate fruit trees now occur near Badaga
137 communities. Due to intensive or slowly continued tempera-- forest
318 clearance, only a few small remnant patches of natural fore ain on the slopes near many hamlets and villages.

The outstanding features of Badaga hamlets and villages are the
361 house-rows with compacted earth courtyards edged by low walls (Figure
351 17). House rows within a single community usually parallel each other and are frequently aligned in an easterly-westerly direction, but on
361 flatter terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. Because
364 the Badagas consider it sinful to throw waste water toward the sun,
783 Lord Shiva's emblem, through alignment of houses in an easterly-westerly direction housewives may throw waste water through the back door or over the front courtyard wall without throwing it toward the sun.
• 841 One dwelling within a community house-row is set apart as a confinement place for menstruating women or women undergoing a postnatal pollution
368 period. In addition to dwellings, house-like temples are built into
243 house-rows. Grain is threshed and agricultural produce or firewood is
313 dried on the courtyards. These also serve as playgrounds for children,
857 as sites for performance of ceremonial rites, and as dance arenas
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TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 231

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

TABLE 1
Badaga House Ownership

	Adult males	Adult females
Owns no home, or shares part of one with other relatives	61.8%	72.3%
Owns 1 house	18.9%	13.4%
Owns 2 houses	6.6%	3.4%
Owns 3 houses	3.0%	
Owns 4 houses	2.7%	4.2%
Owns 5-9 houses		0.8%
Owns 10-29 houses	0.3%	0.8%
"Owns 30 or more houses"/d.k.	6,6%	5.0%
	(*N*=301)	(*N*=119)

the men, a fact that is explained by the presence of some uncared-for widows in the sample, and also some unmarried daughters who did not feel like saying they "owned" their fathers' houses.

If a well-to-do man has built a subsidiary house somewhere, that one can be inherited by his eldest son. Failing that, the family home which is inherited and thenceforth owned by the youngest son may still be partitioned between his brothers. They would then be expected to give some rent or property to him in return.

Property is impartible until the owner's death, and then land is to be divided equally between his male heirs. The agreement on partition of the land has to be written down and signed by the beneficiaries. Each gets a registration document *(patta)* from the state government, attested by the village accountant. For partition of other moveable property no documentation is called for: the beneficiaries simply agree to the division in the presence of the headman and some village council members. Occasionally a sick old man may choose to arrange the division amongst his sons while he is still alive.

If a man should happen to die when his wife is pregnant, his property will not be divided until after the delivery; and if a son is born, he too will become one of the inheritors. Thus a young widow will be watched by her husband's relatives for a month after her bereavement to see that she menstruates. They then declare that she is not pregnant, thereby ensuring that she does not afterwards try to pass off an illegitimate son as an heir